1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

account. Ladawin, an unmarried youth of the village, was much around the cook-house, and, while he paid attention to Kuserek, he also seemed to be a very good friend of Sinbanimous. All appeared harmonious until one evening, when they and many others from the village were at my house singing songs which I was recording. The evening passed quietly, but at the end of it Sinbanimous grabbed a long knife (which I had given him) and dashed after Ladawin, who ran away as fast as he could. Kuserek and several people from the village ran after the two men in pursuit. They managed to catch up to Sinbanimous and take the knife from him. He returned, went to his house, and immediately fell sound asleep. I was then told that he had gone "mad" temporarily at intervals since childhood, and that these "fits" are attributable to his dead brother's spirit entering into him. He is supposed to be unconscious of what he does on these occasions. The next morning he said that he remembered nothing except that he ran after someone, but he could not recall the pretext. He was rather embarrassed by the whole incident, and did not wish to talk about it. It would seem that there might be some jealousy of Ladawin, even though it was unconscious.[1]

Another man, Lumaris, beat his wife because he was jealous and thought she was conferring favours on someone else.

Jealousy is a well-known motif in many folk-tales, as shown in the following:

> Two men make love magic to get two married women. The magic is successful, and the two women and their lovers go to the bush. After a while, when the women do not return from the bush, their husbands, armed with spears, go after them. They find the wives with their lovers and kill the latter. The two women go on

[1] This attack may have been in the nature of an epileptic equivalent.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

ahead to the village, while the husbands remain behind and cut up the bodies of the two dead men. They then strew the pieces on the footpath leading into the bush.

The next day the two women see the bones of their former lovers strewn on the footpath. They weep. Then they return home and commit suicide by hanging themselves. Pigs are killed, and the appropriate mortuary feast made by the matrilineal relatives.

It was Maredis who told me this tale, and she added afterwards that the women liked their lovers so much that when the latter died they wanted to die too. It thus illustrates attachment to a lover, as well as jealousy of a husband. The footpath on which the bones of the dead men were scattered is known to-day and was pointed out to me.

Another tale relates how two men, while out fishing, capture a sea-maiden and bring her to the men's house. She stays with them there, sleeping between the two men and having intercourse with both of them. The two wives of the men remain at their houses and knew nothing of the sea-maiden. They give the men baked taro, and the men give them some of the fish they catch, but not as much as usual.

One of the wives grows suspicious and sneaks down to the men's house, and pressing her ear to the wall hears the sea-maiden talk to the men. The wife returns and tells the other wife about it; then both women go secretly to the men's house and listen at the wall. Now they know that their husbands are sleeping with this other woman. They return to their own houses.

The next morning the two men tell the sea-maiden to remain hidden in the men's house, and, fastening the door behind them, they go with their wives to work in the gardens. The men are ignorant of the fact that their wives know about the sea-maiden. The wives

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

bring taro back to the house while the men remain working in the gardens. The two women go to the men's house and find the sea-maiden hiding under the branch of a tree which the men had placed on top of her. The wives fight the sea-maiden, then go out, fasten the door, and set fire to the house. The sea-maiden is burned to death. The two men in the gardens smell the fire, and returning, find the men's house burned down. They ask their wives why they set fire to the house, and the women answer: "Ah, we know everything. Why have you hidden this woman from us?" Now the men really like their wives, but they pick up knives and kill them. Then a big mortuary feast is made.[1]

There are many other folk-tales in which men have mistresses and wives lovers, but in which there is no jealousy.

At Lesu social custom and attitude sanctions extra-marital intercourse, and accepts it as correct to such an extent that anyone not indulging in it would be considered abnormal and most unusual. This social attitude is a more

[1] Another tale concerns a woman with two husbands, one of whom is jealous. The woman shows a decided preference for one husband who has a lighter skin, to whom she gives the best food. She tells the darker-skinned one to go and eat with the pigs, and later further insults him by telling him to copulate with the pigs.

That night the two men plan to go fishing. The spurned husband lies and says that he is ill and cannot go out fishing, so the preferred mate starts out alone. The dark-skinned man then goes to the woman's house and, pretending that he is the other man, tells the woman to open the door. She does so, and is cross when she discovers who it really is that she has let into the house.

When the preferred mate returns from fishing and finds the other man in the house he is very angry and jealous and kills both him and the woman. Then the mortuary feast is made.

There is a similar tale of how the two wives of one man are jealous of a woman who has been formed out of the man's blood and who stands in the relationship of maternal niece to him. The wives insult her by telling her to eat the faeces of a pig, and the man then kills the wives in revenge. These tales are but a few in which jealousy figures as the leading, or at least one of the leading motifs.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-19[illegible]) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

have not gone together through the crises occasioned by the birth and death of children, nor watched over each other through illness, suffered together over a bad crop or rejoiced over a good one, sat around the fire and eaten their evening meal together, or shared the same one-room house for many years. Out of these is built up affection.

One can apprehend an affectionate attitude, but it is rather difficult to give the concrete details of its existence. However, in times of crises, such as illness, it is seen quite clearly. Then the mate carefully looks after the ill one and does everything possible to show his affection. This was brought out particularly during the iliness of Pulong, whose baby was born prematurely and died. Pulong lost consciousness and was quite ill. No one knew whether she would live or die. She was lying on the bed inside her mother's house, and was surrounded by the women of her own and neighbouring hamlets, some of whom rubbed her with powdered lime over which magic had been said and gave other native medicines. Outside, in front of the house, Ongas her husband sat. He seemed completely isolated and alone. When the women inside wept, he too wept a little. Then he stopped weeping and just sat with bowed back, his head in his hands, a picture of great grief and loneliness. Because his wife's illness was connected with childbirth it was taboo for him to enter the house where she was lying. The other men of the hamlet, including the woman's maternal uncle, went about their business as usual. One man mended his house. Others brought in firewood and were busy with preparations for a small feast. But Ongas sat alone and apart from the others. As Luluai he must attend the feast, but it was unthinkable that he should eat in the midst of his sorrow.

Toward the end of the day eight women carried Pulong from the house where she had been lying to an empty house on the beach, because they thought it would be more com-

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

fortable for her to lie on the sand which formed the floor than on the rather narrow bamboo bed. Ongas, with his daughter, went into this house and sat on the bed close to where Pulong was lying on the sand. This was the first time he had seen his wife since she gave birth to the dead infant, and he wept. Presently he got up and took the fishing-net, which stood in the corner, out of the house and put it in another house. This seemed to be merely for the sake of something to do, although there was a vague idea that the fishing-net might be in the way. Then he brought a coconut shell filled with powdered lime from the house where Pulong had been to where she now was. The other men had gone to another feast at the far end of the village, but Ongas remained at home, grieving.

The next day Pulong was a little better, and it was thought that she would live. Yesterday that was considered doubtful. Then Ongas could not talk about it, but when the danger was past he was able to tell me how terribly sad he felt yesterday when he thought his wife was going to die, and that when he thought of the future without her he did not know how he could bear it. Who would look after him? And the loss of companionship! There was no mistaking either his very real grief or his true affection for his wife. His sorrow, like all other emotions, was felt in his abdomen.

Pulong continued to improve, and in a few days' time she walked a few paces for the first time. Ongas held her affectionately by the arm and half supported her as she took a few steps on the beach. However, she quickly felt faint. The next day Ongas roamed the bush looking for sugar-cane, for which she had expressed a desire. A few days later he made a new bed for her, which he said would be more comfortable than the old one. When he was not busy getting a coconut, or sugar-cane, or performing some other service for his sick wife, he sat either in the house with her or in front. He was the perfectly devoted husband. In attendance

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

also on the sick woman were her daughter and her mother's sister (who stands in the relationship of mother to her, her own mother being dead). The other women of the hamlet, when not busy in their gardens or with their cooking, sat in front of the house where the ill woman was confined.

Gradually she improved. At the end of a week she walked slowly, with the aid of a bamboo pole, to her own house, just because she wanted to look at it. This was her home, to which she was strongly attached, so she desired to see it. But the little walk left her very short-winded. After she assured herself that everything was all right in her home she returned to the beach house, where she stayed for another week before going finally to her own house. At the end of a couple of weeks she had completely recovered, except for being rather short of breath, and was again at work in the garden.

When Nunda, an old woman, was ill, her husband, Towi, showed the same kind of affectionate care of his wife as did Ongas. In all the other cases of illness which I witnessed there was this same affectionate attitude between mates.

QUARRELS

Yet this does not prevent quarrels, which sometimes grow to wife-beating between these very same mates. For a husband to beat a wife is no uncommon incident, and it happens in the happiest of marriages. It is considered a normal part of married life, and, as one native man said (as a statement of fact rather than cynically), "Beating one's wife is the custom of marriage." I witnessed many domestic quarrels, and I heard about others. There is nothing secret or intimate about a family quarrel. It is usually noisy, and both seen and heard by anyone who happens to be in the neighbourhood. It causes no surprise, and is taken as a part of the daily routine. The incidents which give rise to them are generally

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1935 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

764 554 Should they not be held in appropriate fashion, those responsible will be the objects of gossip, and will fall in the esteem of their neighbours and friends, than which nothing worse can be imagined for the Lesu man or woman.

764 152 Another function of the mortuary ritual is that it provides an outlet for the emotions of the survivors. The chief mourners, the immediate family, and the mate wail long and loudly, and their wailing is brought to a ritualistic climax by the more perfunctory wails of the rest of the community. Dancing is another outlet also participated in by the whole community. Also, if besides grief over the loss of a dear relative the survivors feel sorrow due to the economic loss of one member of their clan or community, they express it quite openly. If an industrious and hard-working member of the community dies before he reaches old age, the economic loss is commented upon quite openly. One man was in a positive grouch over the death of a young man who was his maternal nephew. This meant one less person in the clan, already very small, to assist in the clan rites. When Kawitti, a middle-aged woman and industrious worker, died, all the women of the community openly lamented the loss of a worker for their communal food preparations.

Besides wailing, sorrow is also expressed in a negative manner. The immediate family refrains from the eating of the most common of foods, taro, for a certain period; and in the same way the more extended family (the immediate family and their mates) do not have sexual intercourse during this period of mourning. Similarly, the whole village refrains from having dance rehearsals. The rites thus differentiate the mourners according to their kinship to the dead person, and provide positive and negative outlets for their grief.[1]

[1] The mortuary rites have already been described in slightly more detail in the author's article, "Mortuary Rites in New Ireland," *Oceania*, September 1931.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

183 of the *malanggan* (see Chapter VI), Palou, the owner of
517 the *malanggan* sold, was not very generous in distribution of the payment, and how some of the members of his clan were so disgusted with his niggardliness that they left the rites early. Palou was decidedly not following the customary pattern, and his behaviour occasioned gossip. Later he made a few additional payments, but still not sufficient to make him a generous man. He was thus able to act according to a different pattern from the social one and "get away with it."

There are many individual differences which might be regarded as temperamental, and which the natives are quick to note among each other. Sevok, for instance, is a liar, and after I had discovered this for myself all the village confirmed it and said that was his reputation. Tukan, Manumat, and a host of others are honest, and are held in esteem because honesty is a desirable trait in this society; but Sevok, although outside this pattern, continues to live much as everyone else. In the same way Kaptan and Kuta are quarrelsome, while Palou and Sola and most everyone else have rather easy-going dispositions. The easily irritable disposition of the former man and woman is taken for granted, and regarded as a peculiarity of theirs. In working with informants, I soon discovered a great difference in their intelligence, and although I was not able to measure it accurately or make any tests, yet there seemed to me to be about the same degree of difference in intelligence between natives of New Ireland as there is among us. Constant work with many members of Lesu and the near-by villages as informants made it quite clear which ones were the most intelligent. Natives are also not only aware of differences among themselves, but they are extraordinarily quick to get individual differences among whites and uncannily correct in their judgments.

183 The expression of jealousy, and apparently the feeling of
152 it too, is another temperamental or personality trait which

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

differs from individual to individual, and which is an interesting variant from the usual social pattern. Extra-marital relationships are the accepted social rule, and I heard of no relatively young married man or woman who did not follow this pattern, and therefore, logically, one would not expect to find jealousy. But jealous fights occur frequently. One woman, Tungat, fought another woman to whom her husband was paying attention. Lumaeris beat his wife because he was jealous of the favours she was conferring on another man. Other men and women express no jealousy and seem to feel none, accepting the social pattern as a matter of course. But always there are those who do not.

In a similar way does married life vary in its tenor. While wife-beating is the rule in all marriages, the general tenor and attitudes in marriage differ. There is the affectionate and sympathetic life in some marriages, as that of Ongas and Pulong, as contrasted with the endless and petty bickering between Malala and Kaptan. It is true that all marriages are according to the same patterns, but each varies according to the personality of the mates, much as they do in our own society.

In Lesu, while each individual identifies himself with the group, the family, clan, moiety, etc., and is a part of it, yet at the same time each individual is also unique from other individuals, and he is able to express his uniqueness or individuality, whether it be a special skill in fishing, a natural wit and gaiety, a tolerant or a jealous attitude. He participates in the social pattern, but not exclusively in any other pattern. Sometimes he can express himself at no cost to the social pattern, and at other times he is in opposition to it. But the point is that he is able to express his personal idiosyncrasies, his own temperament, even his non-conforming—to a certain degree[1]—and still remain a part of the group.

[1] But, of course, such non-conformity, as a breach of incest taboo, is not tolerated and is punished by death.

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

time the wailing reaches its climax. Everyone wails, but the chief mourner—the consort, parent, child, sister, or brother, as the case may be—clings to the head of the corpse and wails more intensely than the others. Ridae, the widow of Wakatai, alternately waved her arms, wrung her hands, clasped the breast of the corpse and wailed, asking dramatically between the wails what was to become of her now. At another funeral, Lungam, the husband of Kawitti, behaved similarly. They follow the coffin into the cemetery, the wailing becoming louder as it is lowered into a shallow grave. As the loose ground is thrown over the grave and the coffin is covered, the wails are particularly shrill. Finally, when the grave is completely covered over, the wailing ceases, and if the chief mourner is a woman she leaves the cemetery. If a man, he remains where he is.

Now comes the feast. The climax of wailing and outburst of emotions is followed by quiet and calm. Outside the cemetery the women sit and casually chat and laugh and louse one another, or perhaps munch a taro. It is difficult to realize that these are the same people who fifteen minutes before were the participants in an intense emotional scene. Inside the cemetery, where the men are gathered, there is the same tranquillity. The baked taro and pig are distributed in the usual manner.[8] The man who is responsible for giving the feast, a son or maternal nephew or maternal uncle, makes a short speech to the effect that this feast is being held for the person who just died. Then the men eat. They appear quite cheerful and there is nothing subdued or sad about the gathering. The only thing that marks it from a feast not held at the time of the burial is that a few of the men may be so tired that they are asleep on the sand just outside the cemetery and a few people present in the cemetery are not eating at all. These are the husband, brother, maternal nephew, and perhaps a brother's son (all clan relatives with the exception of the husband).

As soon as the burial feast is over the men come out of the cemetery, and there in the compound, where the women are present,

[8]For a more detailed description of the feasts see the writer's article, Feasts in New Ireland, *American Anthropologist* (in press).

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES

121 Emotional attitudes are by their nature less easy to observe than rites. But one can, first, observe expressions of emotion, or lack of such expression; secondly, talk over the matter with the participants in the rites; and thirdly, listen to their own discussions. Also, because these are on the whole an extravert type of people, showing their emotions plainly, one can get more from observation than one could from a more reserved people. But even then the subject is a complicated one. When is an emotion real and when is it only a ritual expression? It may be both. How much of the emotion is spontaneous and how much is induced by the ritual? Motives may be very complex. Real grief may be mixed with the desire to do the proper thing and show off one's wealth at the mortuary rites of a loved relative. A sophisticated and introspective person of our own society is not always able to distinguish all the motives underlying his own actions. It is not to be expected that an ethnologist can answer all these questions for the native, but he may set down a series of careful observations.

761 152 [775] During the period of illness immediately preceding death and during the burial rites, the survivors, as far as could be observed, have no fear of any ghost or other supernatural element. Such emotions as fear, awe, etc., sometimes associated with death, appear to be completely lacking. It must be remembered in this connection that these people have no belief in life after death. For two days I sat with a group of women about the bed of Pulong, a sick woman who was expected to die. Their conversation never turned to any of the supernatural aspects of death, but was always about some very concrete matter such as a medicine for the sick woman. Neither their conversation nor attitude indicated any other feeling except affectionate concern and sorrow. The parents, children and spouse show these feelings particularly. Ongas, the husband of Pulong, the woman just mentioned, sat with bent head in front of the house and neither ate nor talked. There was no mistaking his real sorrow. The rest of the community seemed not to be affected by such deep emotions. The members of the neighbouring hamlets came and cooked in the compound of the sick person, but there was the usual

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

761
152

chatter, the telling of jokes, and the rather casual happy atmosphere which always accompanies communal cooking.[13]

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During the burial rites there is no evidence of fear. The dominant emotion is sorrow, felt in varying degrees by the survivors and expressed in wailing. The spouse and clan relatives seem to show a real personal grief based on love and affection for the dead person. But the way in which some of the other members of the community turn from dramatic wailing to joking conversation would indicate that their sorrow cannot be very deep. At one funeral a group of five or six men, not clan relatives, came out of the house where they had been loudly wailing over the corpse and almost immediately burst into boisterous laughter because a bamboo bench on which they had been sitting tilted slightly. There appeared to be no feeling that the laughter following the wailing was out of place. Frequently, conversation of the non-clan relatives immediately following their wailing would be light and amusing. As a rule this did not hold for the consort. He or she generally wailed continuously, stopping only for the necessary rest, without any light interludes. But there was the usual exception. One widow after a most prolonged and dramatic outburst of wailing, five minutes later turned to a few other women and made a joking remark, which had no connection with the death. There were no comments on this behaviour, but later she was an object of unfavourable gossip, because she resumed sexual relations with a second husband too soon after her first husband's death.

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If the deceased is not old, *i.e.*, if he was an active member of the community at the time of his death, there is another element in the sorrow besides grief over the loss of a dear friend or relative.

[13] I was unable to get much information on the attitude of the dying person towards death. It so happened that in those cases where I was able to be present before the death occurred, the dying person was either unconscious, or too ill to talk, or to be bothered by an ethnologist's questions. However, as far as I could gather, there is a reluctance to die. This was seen quite clearly when a middle aged woman who had been ill and expected to die, recovered. Her happiness in her recovery, her renewed interest in life, showed that she was very glad to be still living. Natives in good health mention that they will die simply as a fact that is bound to occur some time. Frequently in working with informants on the subject of inheritance of property, they would say casually to illustrate a point, " When I die, this and this will be inherited by . . . . etc."

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

761 There is vexation caused by the loss of a worker. The annoyance
152 over the economic loss is felt both by the clan relatives and by the rest of the community. A large amount of work is done communally and so the loss of a worker is of real consequence. The surviving clan relatives have one less person to assist them in the making of a *malanggon*, a ritual feast, or any other rite in which the members of the clan co-operate. The village as a whole also feels the loss of one person in their communal work, such as the preparations for the feasts at circumcision rites, and other rites in which all the members of the village co-operate. At the death of a young man Wakatei, his mother's sister's son, Lungam, who was in charge of the rites, was in a really bad temper owing to the fact that the dead man was young and a good worker and the death was a real economic loss to himself. At Kawitti's death the same element of economic loss entered into the sorrow. She was a middle-aged woman and had always been zealous in contributing her share of taro, and industrious in preparing it for the village feasts. Many members of the community told me (spontaneously, without any questioning on my part) how sorry they were about Kawitti's death, because she was such a good worker. The realization of an economic loss is openly expressed, as was the case with Lungam, and also with the rest of the community. There is no need for any hypocrisy, such as, "we loved him for himself alone."

775 It is not until after the burial rites that the element of fear
152 enters into the emotional attitude. There is now the fear of a ghost or *tinuato*, mentioned in the beginning of this paper. After the burial of the body, it is supposed to wander around near its former habitation and to make its presence known by a low whistle. The native is very much afraid of this ghost and gives as the reason that the ghost is untrue and unreal. It has no malignant qualities and the dread seems to be based purely on the fact that it is uncanny. But there are no rites to lay the ghost, nor any rites of which the function is to alleviate fear. The fact, however, that all the members of the extended family sleep in the one hamlet after the burial rites may tend to lessen the fear. If they are together, they will not be as fearful as if separated, but this does not keep them from being afraid at other times, nor does it lay the ghost. Several weeks

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

after Kawitti's death the chief, Ongas, one of those observing sleeping taboos, started off to another village about four miles away to see a relative. He returned in about half an hour, very much out of breath and quite scared because he had heard a low whistle, which he believed indicated the presence of Kawitti's ghost. He hurried home and did not leave the hamlet for several days. The fear is particularly active for several months after death and then diminishes, to be replaced by the fear of the ghost of the next person who dies. The ghost is never laid and the fear never completely absent. However, no emotion can persist with the same degree of intensity over any long period of time, and as the grief is spent and new interests come up, the fear of the ghost is put in the background. The situation which called up the ghost has been taken care of by certain rites and no longer exists. As the situation is shelved, so too is the ghost which accompanies it, even though there were no definite rites to accomplish this.[14]

THE FUNCTION OF RITES

The mortuary rites have a double function. They serve both to differentiate the groups of survivors and to provide a means of expression for their emotions. The various taboos set off one group of mourners from another and from the rest of the community. Food taboos set apart the chief mourners—the immediate family—from the others, and in the same way the sleeping customs and sexual taboos involved set off the extended family from the rest of the community. The taboo on dance rehearsals after the burial applies to the whole community. The importance of the taboo is in proportion to the degree of grief experienced by the survivors. It is obvious that food and sex are of more significance than dance rehearsals. Abstinence from eating taro and from sexual inter-

[14]An interesting psychoanalytic interpretation of the ghost has been suggested by Dr. George Daniels, to whom I am indebted for reading the manuscript and making several suggestions. The ambivalence of any close attachment is well known, *i.e.*, both love and hate would be a part of any deep attachment. In order to break the attachment both these emotional attitudes have to be detached from the object. The first (love) comes out in grief. The negative feeling comes out after the discharge of grief in the ritualistic mourning, in the form of fear, or a projection of their own feeling of guilt on account of the ambivalence of their attitude.